1: Gifford

OU9 Tonga OU9

554
589
831
884

[For information on the status of virgins, see Category 836.]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: (1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or anciently perhaps burned alive. (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called *tuputalinafi*. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009



mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disemboweling. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death (See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems doubtful if the *moheofo,* or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cremation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive. His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the *fakafeao's* head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



a positive duty in every married woman to remain true to her husband. What we mean by a married woman is, one who cohabits with a man, and lives under his roof and protection, holding an establishment of him. A woman's marriage is frequently independent of her consent, she having been betrothed by her parents, at an early age, to some chief, mataboole or mooa: perhaps about one third of the married women have been thus betrothed; the remaining two thirds have married with their free consent. Every married woman must remain with her husband whether she choose it or not, until he please to divorce her. Mr. Mariner thinks that about two thirds of the women are married, and of this number full half remain with their husbands till death separates them; that is to say, full one third of the female population remain married till either themselves or their husbands die: the remaining two thirds are married and are soon divorced, and are married again perhaps three, four, or five times in their lives, with the exception of a few who, from whim or some accidental cause, are never married; so that about one third of the whole female population, as before stated, are at any given point of time unmarried. This calculation is made with due reference to the women living on the plantations, who are almost all married to the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



*tooas* who till the ground, and remain constantly so; the unmarried women, therefore, live principally at the moon, or place where the chiefs, matabooles, &c. dwell, and are attendants upon them or their wives. Girls that are too young to be marriageable are not taken into account. Having thus ascertained, as nearly as possible, the proportion of married women, we shall make an inquiry how far it may reasonably be supposed they are entitled to the reputation of fidelity. During the whole of Mr. Mariner's four years residence at one or other of these islands, he had frequent opportunities of intimacy with the wives of chiefs; for being a foreigner, and a white man, he was free from a great many restrictions to which the natives are subject: for instance, whenever he pleased he could go in the houses of Finow's wives, or of the wives of other chiefs, and converse freely with them as long as he chose, which was a liberty that no male native could take beside the husband, relations, or the cooks that carried in the victuals; and from habit they became so much accustomed to his company and conversation as to think very little more of his presence than of one of their own sex, and consequently he had every favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with their habits and sentiments, particularly as one of the old king's wives, his

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



must on the one hand render his attentions flattering to the women, whilst on the other it may be supposed to excite a little apprehension of the consequences of a refusal. A fourth instance may perhaps be added, on the part of the late king, with respect to Foonagi, the wife of Tymomangnoongoo, but this is only upon suspicion. Several other instances no doubt there were, at different islands; but as so few were known to him, who had better opportunities of information than any native, we may presume that infidelity on the part of the women is a very unfrequeut occurrence; and where it does happen, it must be with the connivance of their female attendants and servants, who are always with them, and attend them abroad, not as spies over their conduct, but as companions, it not being thought decorous, particularly for the wife of a chief, to walk out by herself: the wives of matabooles and mooas may walk out in the neighbourhood without attendants, but never to any distance. These are, therefore, great restrictions upon the conduct of married women; but there is one still greater, viz. the fear of discovery, which must operate very strongly on the part of the wives of great chiefs, in whom an act of infidelity might occasion her husband to prevent a repetition by killing her: and as to the wives of persons of lesser

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



rank, they might at least expect a severe beating, and the offender himself come off as badly, if not worse: but, independent of these restrictions, &c. Mr. Mariner is of opinion that the women are disposed to be faithful to their husbands, as being in their own acknowledgment their superiors, guardians, and protectors; and most of them, he firmly believes, are much attached to them, as he judges from their conduct when they become widows: witness the behaviour of Toobo Nuha's widows, and those of the late king. Mafi Habe, Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, did not, after the king died, marry another, or admit a lover; although Voogi, who was considered the handsomest, and one of the most agreeable men in all the Tonga islands, became passionately in love with her, and would have paid his addresses with the greatest fervour and perseverance, if she had allowed him opportunities: at this time she was at the Hapai islands, residing with her father, under whose protection she remained at the time Mr. Mariner left the islands, which was about eight months after her husband's death; though she might have married again, without any impropriety, two months afterwards, or allowed of an amour without any reproach. With respect to the wives of the lower ranks in society, they are oftener to be met with alone,

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



with them to some distant part of the island; and whilst an entertainment is preparing for them at the plantation of some friend or relation, they amuse themselves at some game, or, perhaps, in inspecting the building of a canoe, or a large house, or examining the state of the plantations; or in sailing about, if near the sea, or in fishing; or in practising dancing and singing. In these excursions the unmarried women generally accompany them. The married women, and those who choose to stay at the *mooa*, in the mean time employ themselves in one or other of the occupations suitable to their sex, or, if their husbands make an excursion to another island, they usually take a trip with them.

The very young girls are generally employed in the early part of the day in making wreaths of flowers, which they have been out to gather in the morning before sun rise, while the dew was yet on them; for, being plucked at that time, they remain longer fresh.

Sometimes they amuse themselves with walking near Licoo * where there are many romantic spots; at Vavaoo for instance they often visit the cave of Tootawi and the beach of Mo-

* Licoo is the name given to the back or unfrequented part of any island, which is generally bold and rocky, and not fitted for the entrance of canoes. Some parts of the Licoo at Vavaoo were particularly romantic.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



588 Of the four couples living together in marriage without
586 benefit of any marriage-ceremony, all of the four women concerned are legally married to husbands from whom they have unofficially separated. They have either deserted their husbands or have been deserted by them and have neither the interest nor the money to secure an official divorce. Of the four men involved in these unofficial marriages, two are widowers, one is an unmarried man, and one is unofficially
588 separated from his wife. All four of these couples have been living together for some considerable time and all four couples have had several children each during the course of their "marriage." There has been nothing unstable, that is, about the relationship.

589 A further nineteen adults (arbitrarily defined as those twenty-five years of age or older) in the village are at present unmarried. Of these, one is a spinster, eight are bachelors, nine are widows and one is a widower. The widows and the widower are past marrying-age. The spinster is also old. The bachelors are comparatively young. They will probably marry in the near future.

582 In order to get some idea of the relative frequency of inter-village marriage as compared with intra-village marriage, forty-four Pangai marriages were studied. These include the thirty-nine couples mentioned above together with a further five couples whose marriage had recently been dissolved by the death of one of the partners but which could come within this survey because the pre-marital residences of the partners were clearly remembered. In all these marriages both partners were resident in Pangai village. The birthplace and pre-marital residence of the mates is shown in the following table.

TABLE 11.—BIRTHPLACE OF MATES.

| | MEN | WOMEN | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Village | Total | Pangai | Vava'u | Outside Vava'u | Total |
| Pangai — — — | 35 | 15 | 14 | 6 | 35 |
| Vava'u (excluding Pangai) | 3 | 3 | — | — | 3 |
| Outside Vava'u — — | 6 | 6 | — | — | 6 |
| | 44 | | | | 44 |

Of the thirty-five Pangai men involved, forty-three per cent. married Pangai women, forty per cent. married women

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



## CHURCH SUPPORT

794 The Protestant villager supports his church by attending church at least seven times each week, by sending his children to Sunday school, by paying quarterly dues of 2/- per member, by building and repairing his church, by paying his pastor a small stipend (in Pangai, five or six pounds per year), by providing a plantation-garden for the pastor, by providing the kerosene for the lamps of evening service. Children graduate from Sunday school to full church-membership at about the age of sixteen years.

793 794 In return the pastor is on hand to bless every necessary occasion with Divine help and support. He also provides powerful moral and spiritual exhortations for each church service. An easy-going pastor will get on well with his church members. Pastors with unbending principles, on the other hand, will often come into conflict with the villagers, especially when he urges them to put principles into practice. The Protestant villager is unbending in his principles, more easy about practice. He will often criticize mildly those whose actions suggest a slipping of morality. But he feels that it is the job of the police to do more than this; and if the police do not do more, then he is content to let well alone.

794 589 [586] [587] As a sidelight on both religion and morality in the village, it may be noted that should a local lay-preacher (deacon) lose his wife by death, he generally resigns his preaching commission as long as he remains a widower, applying to have his name again entered on the rolls when he remarries. The apparent assumption by all concerned is that one should not be asked to trust a lay-preacher, by definition one who is both highly religious and highly moral, to remain a pure-souled, good, unsinful Christian while unmarried. Wise in the ways of men, the Wesleyan Church prefers to put no Tongan to such a test.

794 According to the pastor of the Neiafu Free Wesleyan Church, the village of Pangai itself is considered in church circles to be a pretty poor village both economically and spiritually. This is inferred from the fact that there is a long-standing debt of some twenty-odd pounds on the church-house. No amount of prodding seems to make it possible

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9



but better we should perish from the face of the earth than break our solemn covenant with God." William Maealiuaki, who generally talks sense, reminds the House that thirteen years ago a similar measure was passed, and that within three months an epidemic attacked the people, but when the measure was repealed the sickness abated. He only mentions the fact without drawing any deduction, except that there is room for belief that the Almighty *does* expect higher things from Tonga than from other countries. A personal element is imported by one of the Nobles, who remarks that the law would be entirely unnecessary if it were not for the professional bachelors, such as Moengangongo, Kubu's brother, and Matealona, and half-a-dozen others who sat among them. These unfortunates, having no defence ready to meet this unprovoked attack, look foolish. A fortnight after the session Moengangongo espoused the ox-eyed waitress Sau, but whether in consequence of this public attack, or the young lady's charming poses in the windows of the dining-room, has not as yet transpired. Forced against our will to play the unwelcome part of "devil's advocate," we at last applied the closure, and the votes were taken. Two of the Ministry, Sateki and Kubu, voted against us. I was about to explain to Kubu that one of the principles of party government was that the members of the Cabinet should act in concert, and that, as he had promised to vote for this measure, his attitude required explanation; but he forestalled me by saying that during the debate his *konisicnisi* (conscience) had met him face to face, and that therefore the terms of his oath compelled him to desert his

fathers' special position may account for why the sons lived in extended-family households when they could have afforded to set up house on their own. Except for these two cases, all the men in the village with the requisite access to the necessary resources described above--cash, human capital, and local goods--were heads of their own households. Thus, 74 percent of the men in Motulahi aged thirty and older were the head of their own household, and 78 percent of all the men in the village who were married and living together with their wives were heads of household (see Table 16). Men who were not heads of household generally were those who were not married and therefore lacked the human capital necessary for maintaining a household and/or those who did not have an allotment of their own (which reflects the increasing shortage of land). The differences among the age groups shown in Table 16 are largely accounted for by just these two factors.

Besides the two households in which both family groups could have been independently viable, there were some multiple-family households in which one family group in the household could have been independent while the other/s would not have been viable. In such cases, it is clear why the dependent family groups were members of extended households. As for the economically self-sufficient family groups, the extension of a household is

794 the Church. Men become members of the kau malanga ('corps
794 of lay preachers'), and women become members of the kau
562 akonaki ('corps of moral instructors'). There are similar grades of membership in the other Wesleyan denominations, although procedures of transition from one grade to the next are less formal. For women, there is little formal public announcement of the change to akonaki ('moral instructor') status. However, in the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga the transition is very evident; women of 'moral instructor' status in these denominations wear hats to church as a sign of their respectability (in the manner of the wives of the ministers who brought Christianity to Tonga). For men, the transition to malanga (lay preacher) status is marked in all the Wesleyan denominations by their preaching their first sermon, usually a ten-minute address at a Sunday afternoon church service. The occasion is regarded as a matter of pride and congratulation for the new lay preacher and his family.

589 There was only one unmarried man under the age of
794 thirty who was a member of the corps of lay preachers in
562 Motulahi while I was in the field. This person was known in the village for the piety of his demeanour, and had attained lay preacher status at the age of twenty-six. Generally, however, the standard of morality expected of a

794 member of the corps of lay preachers is not consonant
589 with the behavior attributed to young unmarried men. I
562 knew of an unmarried man in his late thirties who held a highly respected administrative position in government and who was very active in congregational activities in his village. Yet he was not a member of the corps of lay preachers. I asked someone who knew him well why this was so, and was told rather huffily that membership in the corps of lay preachers is not automatic and that the man had apparently chosen not to petition to be made a member. Why not, I asked. Fa'iteliha pē ia--'it's his prerogative'--I was told. He was married a few months after that, however, and not long afterwards I heard that he gave his first sermon. Marriage, then, is taken to be related to a person's moral uprightness and fitness to be a member of the corps of lay preachers.

794 This is also indicated by the case I was told of a man
586 who, shortly after he was divorced, made the request that
562 his name be removed from the register of lay preachers. I was told that he was not required to do this but that he may have done it because he did not want his status as a divorced man to reflect upon his membership in the corps of lay preachers.

794 As far as I could tell, membership in the women's
562 auxilliary, the 'corps of moral instructors', makes little

621 unless one lives near enough to other members of the
612 fāmili to facilitate frequent visiting back and forth.
Such visiting would certainly be possible if members of
a fāmili lived in neighboring villages, but the fact is
that it is not common for fāmili membership to straddle
612 village boundaries. In the first place, the means of
621 acquiring an allotment (or acquiring access to the use of
423 someone else's land) make it unlikely that male members of
425 a sibling descent group would live in neighboring villages
rather than in the same village. If they were living in
neighboring villages rather than the same village this
suggests that there might be strongly divisive elements
in their relationship, in which case they probably would
not belong to the same fāmili even if they lived in the
[593] same village. It is also not common for brothers and
621 sisters to live in neighboring villages. Since the
584 intentions of unmarried men are generally regarded with
571 some suspicion, patterns of courtship do not favor marriage
[589] between men and women of neighboring villages; one either
courts in one's home village, where people are known to
one another and where there are sanctions for proper
behavior, or one conducts one's courtship away from home,
in which case a neighboring village is too close to be
621 attractive. The effect of these elements is that there are
612 relatively few cases in which the wife is a member of a
593 sibling descent group based in one village and the husband
592

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

## REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE 1966 CENSUS

Of the 20,766 Tongan males over fifteen, 17,686 or 85.17% were listed as being employed in some "industry". 13,219 or 74.74% of these were recorded as being self-employed in "agricultural production for household consumption and export". This represents a rise over ten years of 3,483 persons or 35.77% in this category, but unfortunately the category includes all those without regular or specific occupation, that is, no attempt was made in the 1966 census to differentiate self-employed from unemployed, nor those with title to land from those who have no title but are growing subsistence crops on someone else's land; it is difficult therefore to quantify pressures on land and the *'api* system.

* * *

The Tonga land tenure system is unique in Polynesia and is the result of laws enacted over a hundred years ago by the founder of modern Tonga, King George Tupou I. Every male Tongan is entitled, on reaching the age of sixteen years, to receive a grant of eight and a quarter acres as an *'api tukuhau* 'tax allotment', and a grant of up to one rood twenty-four perches in a village or town as an *'api kolo* 'town allotment'. No one may legally hold more than one tax and one village allotment, but if a person forgoes the latter he may obtain under the law, a bush lot of up to twelve and three-eighths acres, that is, one and a half times the usual size of an *'api tukuhau.* The annual tax on tax and village allotments together is eighty *seniti* (NZ80c); tenure is for life and is usually reallocated to the eldest son.[9] These laws have created a nation of small but secure tenant farmers alongside a landed aristocracy. The head of every family or household in Tonga, irrespective of his rank or wealth, has thus until very recently been assured of the means of production both of basic necessities such as food and housing, and of cash crops both for purchasing clothing, tools, household goods, and for education. With shortage of land, and the strain traditional housing puts on coconut trees, housing is passing from subsistence to the monetary economy.

According to the Report of the Lands and Survey Department for 1966 (p. 2), the total number of tax allotment holders in December of that year was 12,517. The 1966 census records that only 8,305 or 41.57% of all Tongan males over sixteen said that they were holding tax allotments, whilst 11,553 or 57.84% reported that they held no land (p. 96). Some 116 men over sixteen did not state their position regarding land but even if they all had held tax allotments, 4,096 of the allotment-holders recorded in the Report of the Lands and Survey Department would remain unaccounted for. However, some of the Lands and Survey allotment-holders would undoubtedly be widows holding their husband's allotments as a life interest,[10] or the sole surviving daughters of the deceased land holder.[11] The number of widows recorded in the 1966 census was 1,552 but it is not stated how many of them were holding the lands of their

301 males), in services 539 (compared with 737 males), professional, technical and related workers 321 (compared with 412 males).

9. TONGA, 1948:405–459. "The Land Act". Annual poll tax, $T3.20, is paid by all adult Tongan males, whether landholders or not.
10. TONGA 1948:427–8.
11. TONGA 1948:428.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha



often result in conflicts and accusations over the fulfillment of one's duties (in terms of either rights or obligations) as a kinsman.

Objectively, there are limits to individual manipulation, since one 'who has made it' in a modern sector may not want to alienate his siblings by defining them out of the category covering effective economic transaction (the *famili* or family estate), and will thus settle on a less extreme strategy whereby he will fulfill obligations for his higher ranking kinsmen, but will also try to minimize the financially burdensome consequences of these obligations without alienating his siblings. The potential and real conflicts between individual and collective interests considerably complicate any attempt to provide a neat analytical model of the family estate. It should be noted, however, that although I found evidence of such conflicts, I found in general a remarkable congruity in the operation of the family estates for which I could gather data. Perhaps the degree of support provided by kinsmen in modern sectors to kinsmen in traditional sectors seems generous and significant to recipient villagers (as in the case of the provision of materials for building a European-style house), but not too burdensome to their donor kinsmen in a modern sector within Tonga or abroad.

A final important index of individual strategies within family estates is the treatment of sisters by brothers. In any sibling group, sisters have higher prestige status than brothers. In terms of material support, the obligations of brothers to sisters may have an important influence on the individual social and economic development of brothers, especially with regard to decisions about marriage. I noted cases of several men who never married or married quite late (after the age of 35). Explanations for this phenomenon often contained a quite explicit recognition that as a brother, one is obligated to actively support his sisters and their children indefinitely. Of course, not all brothers were quite so selfless since marriage is certainly the statistical norm in Tongan society. Some married brothers continued to actively support their sisters, married and unmarried; others responded only to requests from sisters for support; while still others claimed that their active material obligations of support to their sisters effectively ceased when their sisters married — then support, except on special occasions, became the responsibility of the husbands. The preceding discussions reveal that although channels of support are well defined by the organization of rank in the family estate, there is still much room for individual manipulation based upon the subtle ways that traditional rights and obligations can be interpreted and perceived in practice.

597 [589] Nurturance is a valued role, particularly for women. In about 5 percent of the adoptions, single women were the adopters, but in no 854 case did a single man adopt.[1] Tongan infants are given a great deal of care during their first year or two. They are always picked up and held whenever they cry or show signs of discontent; they are always held when going to sleep and only placed in bed after they are asleep. Infants are bundled in wool and flannel clothing to protect them against non-existent cold weather, but the extra clothing demonstrates the competence of the mother and gives psychological security for her.

593 Tongans also believe a childless couple is likely to quarrel and separate because "they have no reason to remain together". An obvious [597] correlate of this belief is that a childless couple experiencing difficulties can solve their problems by adopting a child.

597 Children may also be adopted to replace the loss of a biological child or to provide a playmate for an only child. Parents who have had only boys or only girls often desire a child of the opposite sex and will adopt one. However, there seems to be no strong preference in sex of children; both sexes are adopted with about equal frequency.

Economic motivations are not often given as reasons for adopting, but children are obligated to assist aged parents materially, In a few cases children are adopted to provide heirs, but legally an adopted child cannot inherit land unless the adoption is recognized by the courts and, as demonstrated earlier, legal adoptions are relatively few.

592 597 Motivations are somewhat different in declining household adoptions. In declining households the children are grown and usually have

A. [For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



settling people on their farms, and to encourage movement to more sparsely populated districts, the Land Act of 1927 provided for the grant of twelve and three-eighths acres of agricultural land to men willing to forgo their town allotment. Little came of the provision, however, only twenty-three applications being received up to 1934, when the scheme was enlarged to permit grants of fifteen acres. Although several estates on Tongatapu were laid out in fifteen-acre holdings, population growth has led to all but one being resubdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments, and a recent amendment has reduced the area that can be granted under this provision to ten acres.

Finally, there have been some changes in the estates. In 1882 hereditary estates *(tofi'a)* were granted to thirty-six titleholders, thirty of them nobles and six of them *matapule* who, although given estates, were not made nobles. Any land not granted to a noble or *matapule ma'u tofi'a* became the estate of the King, but in 1891 Tupou handed over most of this land to the government (Thomson 1894:231). Two more nobles were created and granted estates by Tupou II and one by Queen Salote. There are thus at present several types of estate: Royal estates belonging to the King, Royal Family estates held jointly by the Royal Family, hereditary estates belonging to the nobles and a few *matapule,* and government estates under the direct control of the Minister of Lands. About sixty per cent of the population lives on hereditary estates.

Having outlined the development of the system as it exists in law we may now attempt to assess its effectiveness in practice. The following sections will discuss the acquisition and holding of land, the distribution of agricultural land between households and individuals, and the question of individual tenure and its effect on agricultural production.

## ACQUIRING AND HOLDING LAND

The most common and the easiest way to acquire land is through inheritance, but land cannot be willed and the heir to an allotment is determined by precise rules laid down in the Land Act. On the death of a landholder his widow is entitled to a life interest in her husband's town and tax allotments, but she loses this right if she remarries or is found by the Land Court to have committed fornication or adultery. This latter provision is occasionally used but in recent years actions based on it have rarely, if ever, been successful (see Hunter 1963:109-10).

/64 cont./

591
582 183. Among these, however, there are four clergymen who were transferred to 'Uiha.

In Fungamisi, the small neighboring village of the most important urban seaport of Neiafu, (184)

184. The village is very favorably located with respect to traffic.

of nine married couples, both partners were born in the village. Among the partners of 21 other married couples, six men and 15 women came from the outside, while among the remaining six couples, both partners moved there from the outside.

591
592 In general, only one married couple with their children (and possibly relatives) lives on one place in the village. Sometimes older couples will take in the wife of a son.

592 Some Tongans have relatives living with them, including: a widowed mother or father of the husband, probably also his as yet unmarried brothers, less often the husband's sisters, and seldom relatives of the wife. There are also a few households without married couples, /consisting of/ unmarried, widowed, divorced or separated men, or women who keep house by themselves (rare), or together with relatives (usually father or mother, brother, sister, son, daughter).

589
162 Almost all Tongans marry. This is shown in the following survey: The non-married person of marriageable age in the village of 'Uiha (total population 647) may be divided into the following age groups:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| under 25 years: | 32 male | natives |
| | 35 female | " |
| between 25 and 40 years: | 10 male (1 widower) | " |
| | 8 female (2 widows 2 divorced) | " |

/64 cont./

589 162

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| over 40 years: | 12 male | natives |
| | (8 widowers | " |
| | 1 divorced) | |
| | 5 female | " |
| | (1 widowed, | |
| | 1 divorced) | |

Thus, among the natives over 40 years of age in 'Uiha there are only 2 men and 3 women who, in the course of their lives, did not enter into a regular marriage.

/65/ The non-married, marriageable persons in the village of Fungamisi (total population 263) may be divided into the following age groups:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| under 25 years: | 12 male | natives |
| | 21 female | " |
| between 25 and 40 years: | 6 male | " |
| | 5 female | " |
| | (1 widowed, | |
| | 1 divorced) | |
| over 40 years: | 3 male | " |
| | (1 widower) | |
| | 4 female | " |
| | (all widows) | |

Thus, among the natives over 40 years of age in Fungamisi there are only two men who have not yet entered into a regular marriage in the course of their lives.

592 162 The size of the Tongan household, that is the total number of natives living together on one property (married couples, children, resident relatives, see above) amounts to 6.7 persons for Nomuka, 592 342 343 6.5 for 'Uiha and 6 for Fungamisi. The buildings of such a household usually consist of one living (=sleeping) house (or several), (185)

185. In 'Uhia, 59 households have one house each, 39 households have two, and two households have three such houses; in Fungamisi 36 households have one house each, eight households have two houses each and one

/68 cont./

581 198 longer as easy as it formerly was. (194)

586 197 194. According to Mariner, a divorce by the husband occurred "with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go..." /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 173.)

587 586 Nevertheless, many a nonchalant Tongan thinks nothing of leaving his spouse and establishing himself in another household in the village, in order to enter another marriage without being in a hurry about legal divorce with its attendant costs.

585 162 178 The number of married persons is larger today than it was in pre-European times, if the statements of the generally quite reliable Mariner are correct. (195)

195. Mariner says one-third of the women are unmarried (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168.)

592 565 198 There is no reason to doubt that in the past the household of the majority of commoners working as farmers consisted of approximately the same number of persons as today. (196)

(589) (463) 196. The unmarried women lived mainly as servants on the properties of the chiefs (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168), just as male commoners were used as cooks and humble workmen (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

[597] Certain numerical differences could only have come about through the adoption of children, in case this was as common as Gifford assumes. (197)

197. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 26; compare with this the numbers given above of today's adopted children.

592 565 The rather impressive household of nobles resulting from polygamy and numerous servants has, however, with few exceptions, been reduced to the general standard (of commoners).